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Names were given to children very soon after birth. Names were frequently changed and given away. A man would receive his father's name from the latter, or would take it after his death. If a child were sickly, a relative, such as a grandfather, sometimes gave him another name. A sick person sometimes also took a new name in order to recover. Renowned warriors sometimes gave away their names to young men. They might retain the same name for themselves, or take a new one. One very aged man gave away his name to a young man, telling him, "I give you my name in order that you may have as long a life as I." This was done without the occasion or accompaniment of a ceremony.

There seems to have been no prohibition against mentioning the name of the dead, nor even any reluctance on the matter. Some people, however, were ashamed to speak their own names.

Twins, called niiçan, were named, if boys, respectively Kaaen and Niiça^{n}. The latter name, however, was not always used, an ordinary name being given instead. Girl twins were not called by these names.

The hair was formerly worn in braids, as at present customary among the Plains tribes, but also erect over the forehead. The women wore their hair either in braids or sometimes loose. In mourning, the hair, especially of the women, was cut about halfway across the cheek.

Ear-piercing, which among the Arapaho is performed on ceremonial occasions, and is itself accompanied with ceremony and giving of presents, was said among the Gros Ventre to be unaccompanied by special ceremonial actions. A woman or any one else does the piercing.

Boys who were herding horses sometimes took off their clothes and daubed themselves with mud until they were unrecognizable. They painted their horses, and made shields of willow. Then they came to the camp, mounted or on foot, to steal meat. Approaching the camp like a war-party, they would select the best meat hanging outdoors, charge on it, take it, and run. The old men and women and children chased them with clubs, but of course without success. The boys would go back to where they were herding, and have a feast.

The Gros Ventre say that both hand-shaking and kissing are aboriginal with them.

GAMES.

A common cup-and-ball game called ts$\bar{o}$$\bar{o}$tskuutja^{n} ("throw in") consisted of four hollow deer or antelope leg bones, each about two inches long, attached to a string passing through them, at the end of which there was a needle eight or ten inches long. This game appears to be identical with

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counted coup on the enemy filled a pipe, and held it for the rest of the party to smoke as they stood in a row. The returning war-party, if successful, always painted black, but if a member of their own party had been killed, they returned without rejoicing; unless sometimes, when the loss of the enemy had been greater than their own, and a relative of the dead was in the party, he might say, "One of the enemy pays for my relative. On account of the others, let us enjoy ourselves." Then the party would paint black, and celebrate. Wounds received by members of the war-party would not prevent celebration, unless, of course, they resulted fatally; and they were always regarded as an honor.

Some war-parties started off publicly in broad daylight, having made it known that they were going; and any one who wished joined. Sometimes, perhaps, two men would agree to go, and invited such others to accompany them as they wished. Women not infrequently went with the war-parties. If a man was killed in war, his relatives, especially his parents, mourned for him. His father might go to the tent of a renowned warrior, and cry until this man became angry and announced a day for a party to start out to obtain revenge. On the day set, the party left publicly, usually on horseback.

A man's supernatural war paraphernalia are shown in Figs. 27, 28, and 29. They were obtained from a middle-aged man who had them from his grandfather, who first dreamed of the magpie and the other animals connected with the paraphernalia, and made the objects. A cylindrical rawhide case (Fig. 27), such as is found used for holding feathers and medicine among most Plains tribes, is painted with a yellow, green, and blue design resembling partfleche designs. These colors represent the various colors of the birds that were dreamed of by the original owner, and whose feathers are kept in the case. The case is called the "house" of these objects. A wing-bone is attached to the outside of the case to make another whistle from in case of loss of the finished whistle included in the outfit. A small bag containing a necklace is kept in the case. The bag (Fig. 28, *a*) is ornamented with bead-work representing a frog (kaka"). This frog was part of the original owner's dream. The necklace (Fig. 28, *b*) has various wasõõ ("medicine-roots") on it. These are said to be neither eaten nor otherwise used, except as they are worn on the necklace. The bone whistle (Fig. 28, *c*) alluded to is attached to a necklace of otter-skin. It is blown during the fighting to prevent injury. A magpie's skin (Fig. 28, *d*) and the skin of a smaller bird (Fig. 29, *a*) are also contained in the case. The white magpie-feathers are dyed yellow. The two skins are worn at the back of the head, and prevent the wearer being injured even in a hand-to-hand fight. A head-dress of ten magpie-feathers and of a white plume on red-painted

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A plant called tyäñänou is used as perfume, as a wash for the hair, and as a minor medicine. Bunches of the plant were used as perfume. A tea boiled of it is thought to make the hair grow while perfuming it. Such a tea is also poured into the nostrils as a remedy for headache (specimen Museum No. 50–1920).

Niibyouäxtjin is used as perfume. The stems and leaves are chewed, and applied to the body (specimen Museum No. 50–1853).

Tsau"stibin is used as perfume. It is chewed, and rubbed on the hair (specimen Museum No. 50-1792).

One ingredient of incense is the callosity from the leg of a horse above the knee. This is cut up fine, and burned with sweet-grass. It is also worn on the body on a string.

Pine-nuts or other conifer-seeds are used for pemmican (specimen Museum No. 50–1913).

For embroidery, dark fibrous water-plants, at"hin (the Arapaho atahina"), are used (specimen Museum No. 50 1891).

Quills are dyed yellow with a solution from a conifer-lichen, no doubt the widely used *Evernia vulpina*, called otsahan" (specimen Museum No. 50 1873).

TRIBAL CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION.

The Gros Ventre ceremonial organization is akin to that of the Arapaho with such differences as would be expected from the differences in language and the period of separation of the two tribes. The fundamental feature of this organization, the grouping of men by ages and the observance of a series of a half-dozen ceremonies in order according to age, is common to the two tribes. The ceremonies vary somewhat, and in a few cases their names or order have been changed; but among both tribes there are about six regular consecutive men's ceremonies, one or two that are preliminary or somewhat outside of this series, a single ceremony for women corresponding to those for men, and the sun-dance, which is included by the Indians in the enumeration of their grouped ceremonies, but differs from the others in not being connected with age, or with any society-like association of individuals.

Among the Gros Ventre the dancing-lodge for these ceremonies — which is erected in the centre of the camp-circle, and, like this, opens to the east — is constructed of two large tents. The lodge is open above, and appears to be oval or round in shape. The dancers, before beginning the ceremony, secure old men, who are called their "grandfathers," and are their instruct-

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The place of the biitaha"wu is not certain, as no informants were found who would positively express themselves on this matter. It is universally regarded as having been the most sacred and most dangerous of all the ceremonies, these qualities being thought to have led to its abandonment before any of the other dances. It can probably be concluded from this that it was last in the series, and performed by the oldest men. 171 796

As among the Arapaho, but somewhat more clearly, each dance refers symbolically to a certain animal. This symbolism is as follows. 171 796

The fly-dance takes its name from flies or mosquitoes, and was given or instituted by a mosquito. During part of the ceremony the dancers imitate the actions of mosquitoes. 825

The crazy-dance has comparatively little reference to any animal. The participants, however, wear anklets of badger-skin, and an entire badger-skin is used in ceremonies at the time of starting the dancing.

The kit-fox lodge was given by the kit-foxes, and a kit-fox skin is used somewhat analogously to the badger-skin in the crazy-dance.

In the dog-dance the dancers of highest degree represent shaggy dogs. It is also said that the participants in the ceremony largely eat dogs during its course. Among the Arapaho a dog is said to have instituted this lodge, and the Gros Ventre have a similar myth. [262]

In the naina"naha"w" the dancers sing for the buffalo, and it is said that they always succeed in causing them to appear near the camp. Among the Arapaho the dancers represent both buffalo and prairie-chickens. The symbolic reference to prairie-chickens among the Gros Ventre is found in their sun-dance; their equivalent of the Arapaho rabbit-tent in this ceremony being called "prairie-chicken tent," and the singers in it "prairie-chickens" and "prairie-hens."

The biitaha"w", as among the Arapaho, has connection with thunder. The dancers are painted over the body with dots which represent hail. If one of them violates the regulations of the dance, it is thought that it will begin to rain and that the offender may be struck by lightning. The Gros Ventre have an additional symbolic connection of their sun-dance with thunder, which is not strictly paralleled among the Arapaho. [302] [821]

The women in their dance among both tribes represent buffalo, and the actions gone through in this ceremony are in both tribes probably more directly imitative of the animals symbolized than in any of the men's ceremonies.

What has been said about the Arapaho in regard to the relation of the entire ceremonial organization to the lives of the men of the tribe, and in regard to the relative importance of the religious, military, and social functions of the age-companies constituting the organization, appears to apply 171 796 561

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analogous to the "green-grass" and "young-sheep" and other companies, but having an additional ceremony confined to itself. On the other hand, if the "stars" were not one of the age-companies, it is hard to see with what groups of men they competed. It is therefore not improbable that there formerly existed among the Gros Ventre a star-society, which had a ceremony of its own, and which, while based partly on age in being constituted of young men, was outside and independent of the scheme of the beman"wu, with which it had no, or only indirect, relation, and with whose working out it must in some measure have conflicted. Such a society, which would be a true society in being based on a membership determined by choice, purchase, initiation, or supernatural experience, — in other words, by selection, would be of a type of organization quite distinct from the ordinary Gros Ventre or Arapaho age-company performing in the course of its existence an entire series of tribal ceremonies, but would have abundant parallels in other ceremonial societies on the Plains and elsewhere. Its presence would therefore be readily explainable as an incipient intrusion due to the cultural influence of some other tribe, the chief objection to such an explanation being the occurrence of the star-dance also among the Arapaho, but without a known association with a special society. This suggested character of the Gros Ventre star-society and star-dance fits the facts, but is after all only hypothetical; and altogether the relation of the ceremony to the remainder of the Gros Ventre ceremonial organizations is not yet clear.

The star-dance as formerly held is said to have lasted four days and nights. There might be further subsequent dancing. At the beginning of the ceremony, the dancers went to four places at the camp-circle facing or representing the four cardinal directions, and at each place danced before the tent of a prominent man. The owner of the tent gave away property and filled a pipe for the dancers, after smoking which they proceeded to the next one. After having danced in the four places, they danced in the middle of the camp-circle. This might be in the open air, or in a lodge made of two large tents combined. The singers were four old men, who accompanied themselves on small hand drums. The dancers' wives sat behind these four old men and sang with them. The dancer's relatives at times went to them and danced with them, taking their rattles and temporarily using them. The dancers' bodies seem to have been variously decorated; but they had no distinctive regalia except rattles. These were alike in general character, being loop-shaped, and decorated with gaudy paint and attachments, but there seems to have been no attempt at making them uniform. The dancing-lodge was elliptical, with the door towards the east and a fire near the western end. The singers were at this end, and the dancers near them, in two lines, along the sides of the lodge, facing each other. In dancing

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Recently these two bodies of young men performing respectively the star-dance and the war-dance have supplanted entirely the older, more numerous age-companies. In late years they have taken the place of the age-companies in the ceremonies connected with the erection of the sun-dance lodge. There was then considerable rivalry between them, and it is said that a member of either company who should take part with the other would be abused by his companions, and perhaps have his clothes torn. Recently also the two groups have had certain social functions, which among most Plains tribes are in the hands of tribal bodies or societies. They had charge of the moving of the camp-circle and of locating it. If a man disapproved of their selection, or pitched his tent elsewhere than they directed, they overturned it, and perhaps destroyed his property or killed his horses. If buffalo were seen and others than themselves went ahead and killed them, these two companies cut both the meat and the skin of such game into small pieces.

The Fly-Dance.

The fly-dance (nouba"w"), the first of the dances, seems to have been regarded in some ways as preliminary to the series, rather than part of it, somewhat like the Arapaho kit-fox and star dances. The dancers were called noubän ("flies"). They were young men, sometimes described as boys. Apparently they were of an age where many or all of them were still unmarried, for no mention of their wives participating in the ceremony is made. The duration of the dance is not quite sure. It is said, like all the other ceremonies, to have continued four days; but another informant gave one day as the length of the ceremony. It is not clear whether or not a lodge was erected for the ceremony. In any case, however, the dance was performed outside of the camp-circle. A prominent feature seems to have been the food cooked by the relatives of the young dancers, and brought to the dancing-place. In distinction from what occurred in the other dances, "grandfathers" were secured very easily for this ceremony, which goes to show the light regard in which it was held by the elder men. The old men of the tribe are said to have gone out to the dancing-place, and, on being selected by groups of dancers as "grandfathers," to have accepted at once.

The dancing went on during the day. The dancers were practically naked; and their entire body, as customary in Arapaho and Gros Ventre ceremonies, was painted over. A common style of painting, or perhaps the characteristic one of the dance, was red, with a white stripe on the face and another on the belly. The pledger of the dance (yenouhuxtj[1]; Arapaho, yanahut[1]) was painted yellow, with corresponding black stripes. After the

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from this part of the robe. At the end of each of these, a bunch of owl-feathers, or rather a piece of owl-skin, was attached. The dancers carried bows, to each end of which seven crow-feathers were tied. Down was fastened to the bowstring at several places. At the handle of the bow a strip of bear-skin, owl-feathers, and some sage were fastened with a buck-skin thong. Four arrows accompanied each bow. One had a metal point, which subsequently was made more effective by medicine. The three other arrows were blunt, or had wooden points that had been chewed soft so as to be harmless.

The pledger, and three other men called "brothers" (hinähäbyiitou), who sat apart from the other dancers in the lodge and acted somewhat differently on certain occasions, had bows that were unornamented, except for the down on the string. These four men wore their robes turned so that the hair was outside, whereas the other dancers wore the dressed side out.

All the dancers were painted entirely red. Their hair was daubed with white paint. They stopped the left ear with a mushroom, such as was used for tinder, and put paint (apparently white) over the ear and the entire left side of the face.

Four young men who would be good workers were selected to be the assistants or servants (atsaan) of this company. They brought wood and water, and performed other services.

The lodge for this dance is described as having been made of travois or tent poles about which tent-skins were drawn. It was open to the east. There was a fire about in the centre. Facing the opening of the lodge was a small partial enclosure or screen constructed on dog-travois. In this were the pledger and his three companions, the "brothers." The dancers are said to have occupied the northern half of the wall in the dancing-lodge; the "grandfathers," behind whom sat the dancers' wives, the southern half. As among the Arapaho, the dancers were divided into two sections; the tall men toward the rear and the short men toward the front, of the lodge. These two divisions competed against each other in the races to follow. The dancers' bows were stood up in the ground in a row just beyond the fire.

During the four days of the dance, the dancers, every morning before sunrise, went to their "grandfathers" to be painted. Apparently they went to their "grandfathers'" tents, and not to the dancing-lodge, for this purpose. The dancers' wives went with them. They were naked, and were painted too. No one but the "grandfather" looked at them. Before being painted, the dancers made incense of sage-leaves on burning charcoal. They also rubbed their bodies with fragrant fir or balsam leaves (Crushed and mixed with fat.

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796 As in the other ceremonies, the dancers were painted over the entire
302 body. It does not seem that the long-continued painting of the Arapaho
562 dog-dance, in connection with which the relationship between the dancers' wives and "grandfathers" found its chief expression in this tribe, existed among the Gros Ventre. The women, however, took considerable part in the ceremony as in the others, being painted with their husbands, sitting in the lodge and singing, and at times putting on their regalia; whereupon the men took hold of the ends of the regalia, and their wives led them about.

796 The complete disintegration and disuse of the old ceremonial life of
178 the Gros Ventre is shown by the fact that not a single dog-dance object belonging to an ordinary dancer has been collected. It is therefore the more fortunate that the Museum has been able to complete, through Dr. Clark Wissler, a valuable set of the regalia of the highest degree of this dance. This unique group of specimens is shown in Figs. 38, 39, and 40, and Plate XIII.

796 The coat (Fig. 38) is in shape an ordinary deer-skin shirt. At the neck
292 is an edging of red flannel. On the upper arms are two short, transverse bars of white quill-embroidery, the quills laid on in diagonal zigzag stitch. At each of the sides, at the bottom of the shirt, hang two long, pointed strips, as customary on men's shirts, — the legs of the animal decoratively used. Under the armpits are similar shorter flaps. The two sides of the shirt are open from the bottom to under the arms. These open edges, the hanging strips, the lower border, and the ends of the sleeves, are ornamented with a fringe about an inch long. The lower portion of the shirt for a width of about half a foot, and the hanging strips, are painted yellow. All the remainder of the shirt has been stained brown, apparently over yellow paint. On the two sides there are in this brown area a total of 225 yellow circles, about an inch and a half in diameter, which have not been painted over with the brown stain. Each of these circles is edged by white quill-work, and from its centre hangs a mutilated crow-feather by a thong. The edging of the circles is produced by using single quills as threads in an in-and-out rotary stitch. The crow-feathers have the quill broken, in from one to four places, without being severed. The vanes are for the most part considerably disarranged, as if intentionally. At the lower end the feathers are cut off square and the quill is flattened by cutting on two sides, as if to get rid of the lowest part of the vane. The quill is cut in this way so far from its natural base that it is entirely solid. The feathers are simply wrapped against a thong with sinew. The end of the thong projects a little beyond the sinew. The thongs on the outside of the skin average half an inch in length, and are painted yellow. Each passes through a hole in the centre of a yellow circle. Behind this, that is, on the inner side of the shirt, it is

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but none are living who have taken part in it. The meaning of the term, as among the Arapaho, is unknown. One informant gave the etymology "drum-dance" (from biitaxäänaⁿ, "drum"). The dancers were called biitaxäänen. As in the preceding ceremonies, a man took part in this dance accompanied by his wife, or, if it happened to be held while he was at war, his wife took part as if he were present. Nothing is known as to the conduct of the ceremony nor as to the regalia, except that the dancers, or certain of them, carried crooked sticks wrapped with white fur. The dancers were painted over their body with dots resembling hail. The dance is looked upon as having been very dangerous, as a mistake in painting or in other observances would result in death from the thunder.

It is not impossible, that, if the present Arapaho series of dances represents a more original order of arrangement than the Gros Ventre, in the development of the Gros Ventre series the biitahaⁿwᵘ was displaced by the kit-fox dance, which grew in importance from a dance of the youngest men to one of older men. This would account for the use of crooked fur-wrapped sticks in the Gros Ventre kit-fox dance as well as in their biitahaⁿwᵘ. If this was the course of events, it does not follow that the biitahaⁿwᵘ became the sixth dance of the series. It may simply have been displaced, and fallen into disuse. Lack of knowledge of the proper conduct of the ceremony would be sufficient to make the Indians afraid to undertake it. It has been stated that no informants could be found who professed to know the place of this dance in the series, and it is possible that its dangerous qualities were not due to its greater sacredness through being the dance of the oldest men, but to such lack of knowledge. On the whole it is very difficult to see how such differentiations in the order of dances as exist in the Arapaho and Gros Ventre schemes of ceremonial organization may have taken place.

The Women's Dance.

The women's dance — called benuxtcaⁿwᵘ, the dancers being named benuxtciiçäⁿ[1] — resembles the Arapaho women's dance quite closely. The dancers had on their ordinary clothing, but wore belts to which four buffalo-tails were fastened, and head-dresses which fell down the back of their heads and from which horns rose. These head-dresses are said to have been covered with feathers; but it seems possible that this statement refers only to the dancers of certain degrees, as among the Arapaho only the dancer of highest degree wears such a feather-covered head-dress. Four of the dancers wore no horned head-dress, but "war-bonnets." These may have been equivalent

[1] The Gros Ventre declare that they do not know the significance of the word element benuxtc-.

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to the Arapaho "white-stand" and "red-stand" head-dresses of upright feathers surrounding the head. The dancers are described as all old or elderly women, which among the Arapaho was not the case. The exceptions were two participants called "calves" (nihanou, "yellow calves"), who were middle-aged, or, at any rate, adults. Among the Arapaho the "calves" were children. There is a further difference, that, whereas among the Arapaho the "calves" were of high degree in the dance and for the greater part of the time were not allowed to stir, the Gros Ventre "calves" took the place of the atsaan or servants in the men's dances. They are said to have worn no regalia. The dancers were painted with the symbol of a pipe on each cheek, close under the eye. Old men sang for them, rattling but not using a drum. The women in dancing shifted their weight from one side of the body to the other, and cried like crows. Two tent-poles, two pegs, and two ropes belonging to the dancing-lodge, were painted respectively one black and one red. On the fourth day of the ceremony there were observances outside of the dancing-lodge. A prominent chief was selected to take a burning stick. The dancers, moving and running about like a herd of buffalo, pretended to scent the smoke of his fire from windward, and stampeded. Another distinguished warrior pretended to shoot at the herd as if they were buffalo. Both of these features of the ceremony are found among the Arapaho. A third distinguished man (or perhaps several) was honored by being offered a pipe to smoke, and on his acceptance was given a vessel of water containing berries. He then gave away property.

The Sun-Dance.

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As stated before, the Gros Ventre sun-dance, haçeiha^{n}w^{u}, is not restricted to men belonging to certain age-companies, but, as among the Arapaho, can be made by any man.[1] Like the other dances, however, it is made as the result of the pledge of an individual for deliverance from sickness or danger. As soon as the pledge has been publicly announced, or as soon thereafter as the buffalo begin to get fat in spring, the pledger and his relatives begin to accumulate buffalo-tongues, which they slice and dry like buffalo-meat. They also save a buffalo-skin, which is packed with the tongues, two sticks being wrapped up in it. When the time comes, a large lodge made of two tent-covers is set up in the middle of the camp-circle. Into this many women enter at night to sing. This marks the beginning of the ceremony. The tent is called tjinaa^{n}w^{u} ("prairie-chicken lodge"); and the participants, "prairie-chickens" and "prairie-chicken women." The pledger brings his buffalo-skin to this lodge. He incenses it four times.

[1] See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part II, p. 182.

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796 Entering the tent very slowly while the people are singing, he stops four times at the end of a song, and motions with the skin. The fourth time he throws the skin among the singers, who shout, and seize it, spread it out, and commence to beat it with their sticks and sing the songs of the night. They go through all the sun-dance songs this night. In the morning the entire camp breaks, and moves to another place not far away. That night the entire ritual is gone through again, and this is repeated altogether four times. The pledger provides food for the singers in the prairie-chicken lodge. The singing in this lodge is called "singing-for-it" (niinibyaa^{n}tou).

After the four nights of the prairie-chicken lodge, seven chiefs are selected to go out as scouts looking for trees to be used in the dancing-lodge. The trees should be straight, and the largest one, for the middle, forked. These men scout for the trees as they would for an enemy. They are painted as [302] if for war, and wear what they would in war. When the people in the camp see them returning, they rush to the centre of the camp-circle, carrying hand-drums. The scouts go circling and dancing, and crying like wolves or coyotes, whereupon the people cry out that the scouts are returning successfully. Those who bear drums stand in a line abreast; in front of them is a pile of rocks. The scouts, still circling, and crying each time they face the direction from which they have come, approach nearer and nearer. Then one by one they circle about the heap of stones, and, stepping forward a short distance, stop and stand abreast, facing the drums. A prominent man who has been selected steps out from the people and recounts his most distinguished coups. Thereupon he goes up to one of the seven scouts, and leads his horse forward by the bridle. The scout then recounts four coups. Then the chief leads forward the horse of the next scout, who also tells four stories; and so on until all seven have spoken. Thereupon the first of the seven addresses the people, and reports that they have found good-looking people and a chief, meaning the smaller poles and the central fork of the lodge.

Some time after this the people go to the trees. The young men especially dress and paint themselves as well as they can, and ride their best horses. They go first to what is to be the central pole. One man dismounts, and places coals and fir-needle incense on the ground on four sides of the tree, thus incensing it. Then all dismount, and, standing about and having shouted, begin to sing. After they have sung, two men stand by the tree and swing axes four times, as if to strike it. Then they begin to chop it. When the tree begins to lean, every one shoots at it; and when it falls, all dash up to it and strip it of branches and leaves. Thereupon they scatter in the timber, cutting the smaller forks and poles, and as each one of these falls it is shot. There are many small parties getting these smaller forks,

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men are named, their female relatives return to their tents, and cook. When they have prepared food, they all together bring a large quantity of it to the lodge. The men selected carry weapons, and are dressed for war. They are usually mounted. Where they themselves or their horses were wounded, they paint themselves. If they have ridden over an enemy, a man is painted on the breast of the horse. When the food which has been brought by their female relatives has been eaten, these men, two at a time, go through numerous performances of their achievements in battle. This is done each day of the dance.

A group of men and women, called, like those in the preliminary singing-tent, "prairie-chickens," and therefore probably the same persons, seem to be the singers for the dance. They beat a rawhide in place of a drum, and hold branches, which, at the end of each song, they shake, shouting.

The dancers may not drink water, no matter how great the heat. If one of them is unable to endure, and a pitying relative gives him even only a drop, a thunderstorm follows, and the offender may be struck by lightning, or one of his horses may be killed by lightning. In case it seems necessary for the dancers to drink, a pipe is taken to one of the old men. If he accepts it and smokes it, he goes to the central tree. He wears a robe with the hair-side out. He has a whistle in his mouth, feathers in one hand, and a crow-skin in the other. He strikes the bill of the crow four times, with a downward motion, against the lightning symbol on the tree. A vessel is held against the tree at the bottom of the symbol, and, after the fourth blow, water is said to run out until the vessel is filled, when it stops. This water is given to the dancers, each of whom drinks a very small quantity. The actions of the man producing this water are said to be determined by his personal supernatural vision.

After the four days of the ceremony are completed, the lodge is left standing. All the cloth and clothing that have been attached to it remain in place, and it appears that other clothes, especially of children, are left at the lodge. This is done in order that the children may live a long life.

From drawings made by a Gros Ventre, it appears that the buffalo skull is painted with spots, and has its nose and eyes stuffed. Behind it is represented a dancer holding the wheel. He is presumably the pledger of the ceremony. The wheel is bisected by two strings, and has eagle-feathers and down-feathers attached to it. The dancer blows a whistle at the end of which is a plume. The whistle hangs from his neck. At the back of the head is a plume. Lines of paint proceed from his breast to his wrists and ankles. On each of these are four diamonds, two on each upper and lower arm, thigh, and calf. If this is a correct representation, the Gros Ventre use at least one style of painting that is like the most typical Arap-

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

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side of the bundle, it is said. Except at such ceremonies as this, only the keeper could touch the pipe.

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Pipes were sometimes given to other tribes, and were sometimes received from them. Sometimes they were carried by war-parties. One of the three pipes still in existence is said to have been given by the Cheyenne to the Crow, and by the latter to the Gros Ventre, when peace was made between the two tribes. The stem is ornamented with feathers, weasel-skins, and at the end with a bunch of eagle-feathers. The sacred pipes were kept wrapped in many pieces of skin or cloth, and hung up in the tent. In good weather they were hung on a stand of three or four sticks, behind the tent. The keepers of the sacred pipes observed stringent rules. They could not eat of the head or back of any animal, nor of any part of the white-tailed deer, nor any eggs. They were not allowed to bathe, or to paint (except red), or to take the ashes out of the tent. They had to smoke in certain ways. They did not eat dogs, or allow them in the tent; nor did they let dogs touch them, or walk over their legs, or walk before them, while they were smoking. The keepers of the sacred pipes wore their hair uncut and uncombed. They could not cut it until they had given the pipe to another keeper. The hair was worn tied in a bunch just above the forehead. Fig. 42 shows such a bunch of matted hair, said to have been that of the grandfather of the father of the man who was the oldest in the tribe in 1901. This former keeper of the pipe became so old that he lost most of his hair, and the bunch shown was cut off by him before it should drop off. To this hair the later owner of the pipe, his present great-grandson, tied the first of his own teeth to fall out from old age: they are contained in a small cloth sack.

[648]
[528]

Fig. 42 (50/4902). Matted Hair. Length, 41 cm.

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[825]
[302]

Feathers, especially eagle feathers, were highly prized, and red paint, prepared from ochre, as well as other paints obtained through the trader, played their part in bodily decoration.

The younger men thought a great deal of their appearance. One of the things they made for themselves was fancy painted sunshade-hats of rawhide. The designs painted thereon had a yellow background against which various other colors stood out. Coming Daylight remarked: "These sunshades looked so fine that the other tribes copied them, just like the whites get their styles from Paris." Long thick hair was the ideal both for men and for women. The tail of the porcupine made an admirable comb. A number of perfumes were used by the young men. The castor of the beaver, for instance, was put in the paint bag so that the material for daily painting would be sweet smelling. Again, young men crushed "Piegan berries," chewed them, and rubbed them on hair, horses, and bedding, as perfume.

Incidentally, according to Coming Daylight, in order to clean their buckskin clothing, the Gros Ventres would wear it into the water, getting it completely wet, and then rub it thoroughly with a certain kind of white clay.[14] She said that the tribe was spoken of by other tribes as always having such nice white clothes, and to this habit of rubbing them with clay she attributes the name by which the Gros Ventres call themselves, *a'aninin*, "white clay people."

Ear-rings, worn both by men and women, were made from imported abalone shell, which they cut up and shaped; they also used a certain type of imported white shell. Many other kinds of necklaces, armlets, and so on were apparently used, but on these we failed to get details.

Household and Transportation

The lodges of the Gros Ventres were made from buffalo hides, the number used in each depending on the size of the lodge. They

[14] This custom is mentioned in the sources of the early 19th century. Cf. Harmon, p. 277; Henry, v. 2, p. 734. The latter adds, as a further distinguishing characteristic, that when the Gros Ventres use red "it is always of a light color, inclining to pale vermillion. The dark red or Spanish brown, so much in vogue among the other Meadow tribes, does not suit their taste."

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

726 wanted a downpour of rain. At once a cloud appeared and in no
787 time it was a big black storm cloud. Then there was a wind and
769 a very heavy storm and thus the Gros Ventres got safely back to camp. The only loss on this occasion was that of two fine horses, one played out and the other foundered from drinking when overheated."

Return of the War Party

727 After a successful encounter with the enemy, the homecoming was a joyful one, provided no Gros Ventre lives had been lost. As they approached the camp, appropriate songs were said to have been sung by the victorious party. If, for instance, they had stolen horses there was one type of song. On the other hand [302] when scalps had been taken, they sang other kinds of songs and painted themselves with charcoal. Incidentally, the Gros Ventres had a saying that "women and children do not make good charcoal." Women and children should be captured but not killed and scalped.[10]

When the victorious party arrived, they circled the outside of the encampment before entering. "Then the party broke, each member surrounded by his womenfolk who crowded around, kissing him and taking the scalps or other trophies which had been won. After a reasonable interval, the crier called all to come to [302] the center of the circle and dance. Men and women alike blackened their faces with charcoal, and the women, carrying scalps attached to poles, or weapons captured from the enemy, danced as innumerable victory songs were sung. Only members of the war party were allowed to join with the women in dancing. Many husbands, who had to stand on the sidelines, were jealous of the brave warriors at a time like this."

727 Most of the songs sung during the victory celebration had
533 words which referred to encounters wherein the Gros Ventres had been successful. New words were often made up to commemorate a particular incident. One of these songs had the following words: "Where are you going? I've been here all the

[567] [10] Cocking, p. 112, mentions in 1772 that the Gros Ventres adopted "slaves" of both sexes into families who had lost their children either by war or sickness.

854 857 men were much more interested in children than they seem to be at present.

855 515 857 Just as soon as a child was old enough to look after himself—say from about the age of three or four years—he would be compelled to bathe every morning before eating. An older boy would supervise his younger brothers and see to it that they complied with the regulation—even in winter when it was sometimes necessary to cut a hole in the ice. Al says: "This is what makes one tough." Charles gave as illustration an incident which occurred one morning when there was ice on the edge of the river and snow was floating on the surface. "An older brother said to his three younger brothers: 'Go and take a plunge.' The wind was blowing and the three boys sat on the bank, each one encouraging the other to be the first one in. The older brother came behind them yelling: 'I didn't say to you boys to stay on the edge—I said to take a plunge!' Whereupon he threw each of them in the icy water telling them to wash their faces, hair and hands. He then sent them home to water the horses while he took his plunge." In case the lodge might be too far from a stream in winter, the boys and men rolled in the snow and rubbed their bodies with it. Everyone, young and old alike, bathed every day.

515 751 That the daily dip was looked upon as a health measure is shown by the statement of Cora who remarked that when she was small she used to bathe daily in the creek and she has never been sick up to the present. Coming Daylight, too, said that she had kept up the practice until a few years ago and complains that she has been sickly ever since giving it up.

271 751 It was considered important for health's sake to drink a lot of water too. The relatives who raised Coming Daylight used to tell her to wash her mouth out with water immediately upon arising. Further she was instructed to drink water right after eating, even though she might not feel thirsty, and to walk about after finishing a meal. She claims she followed these rules all her life and that for this reason she is not troubled, as so many of the aged are, with difficulty in controlling urination, and so on.

302 After the morning bath, all would have their faces painted all over with red paint "in order to keep their faces clean and light-skinned." Coming Daylight complained that since this practice

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

has been given up, the Gros Ventres are so sunburned that their skin looks almost "black." Singer showed a small bag of red paint which she still had. She kept a piece of beaver castor in the bag so the paint would be sweet-smelling.

In the old days the Gros Ventres were early risers. Everyone got up while it was still dark, perhaps about three o'clock in summer and before seven in winter. It didn't make any difference whether a child might otherwise be favored, the rule was iron-clad that all must rise early and that no one should lie abed. This applied to all—old people as well as to children.

One method of making sure that children would be strong was to take a beaver tail and slap the child on the hand and on the back while saying: "You will be good and strong." Mary, for instance, has seen her mother do this to all her grandchildren, hitting them so hard they almost cried. The beaver is considered a very strong animal since he cuts down big trees and drags them about.

Naming and Ear-piercing

Every individaul received a name shortly after birth. Many Gros Ventres, however, were, and are, known by names other than the original one. Names were changed for particular reasons, and in addition nicknames were frequently employed. Sometimes the first name was bestowed with considerable formality, but naming could be carried out in a variety of ways,[10] as the following examples show.

"Shortly after Coming Daylight was born, her father sent for his sister's husband and told him: 'Now I invited you to name your niece. I am giving you such-and-such kind of horse' (a bay, or a pinto, or whatnot). There was a big feast on this occasion and the lodge was full of people. The namer sat in the place of honor at the back of the lodge. He held the infant in his arms, told a war deed and said: 'Now I name her 'Taken A Prisoner.' Then he said a long prayer, starting with the usual formula, and wishing the infant a long life. He then handed the infant to the person to his left saying: 'Take Taken A Prisoner'; and so the infant was passed all around the lodge, each repeating the same to

[10] Cf. Kroeber, 1908, p. 182.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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787 775 began to dig around behind her bedding and brought out a bowl such as that in which buffalo chips are pounded into powder. She said: 'Here. I want you to eat this.' It didn't look good to me and I just kind of felt it with my fingers. Instead of having sat by my sister as my mother had directed, I had remained by the door, because I felt kind of scared in some way. So I told them: 'Wait. I guess I will go out a minute. I will be right back.' But I got out of there and ran home as fast as I could go—back to my own bed, back to myself. If I had eaten what they had given me that would have been the last of me! After this dream I got well."

Mourning

765 152 As soon as word was circulated that someone had died, all relatives of that person, especially the women, were supposed to gather as soon as possible to cry and mourn for the deceased. Very close kin were expected to show their sorrow at the death of a loved one not only by crying and wailing, but also by casting off their good clothes and donning old ones,—robes, for instance, consisting of pieces of old discarded lodge covers, or ordinary robes that were rough and worn,—and by cutting the hair.[1] This latter was truly [8 12] a great sacrifice, for to the Gros Ventres one of the chief criteria [302] of beauty, in men and women alike, was extreme length of hair. The hair of younger children in a family was spared, even at the death of parents, but should, say, a father die, the hair of the older daughters was shorn, though not cut so short as that of the widow.

[88] An elderly woman was usually called upon to do the cutting and the widow, guided by the strength of her emotional reaction, would indicate how short she wished her hair to be. It was said that some widows would leave their hair relatively long, just free of the shoulders, while others "when they felt too badly, had all their hair cut off, almost as men now wear their hair."

Close kin were accustomed to further show grief by going off to the hills and fasting, crying aloud as they wandered about alone, and sleeping out without shelter. A parent would have done so at the loss of a son, one spouse at the death of the other, or a sister for her deceased brother. Such mourners would stay out

[1] For this and other practices in mourning, see Kroeber, 1908, p. 181.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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PLATES

142 The original photograph of Plate 1 was taken in 1887 and
291 belongs to The Boy. Shown in it are Lame Bull, The Boy's
301 father, and Crow Bull, maternal uncle of Coming Daylight. Both
302 of these men were born around 1825 and their personal experiences were often referred to by our informants as we took down the record of the old way of life. Each had been Keeper of the sacred Flat Pipe.

115 The photographs composing Plate 2, except for the one of The
133 Boy, were taken in 1940 by Dr. Karl F. Herzfeld. The first three
142 show the nature of the country around Hays on the Fort Belknap
291 Reservation; the other three show some of our informants and
292 interpreters whose biographical sketches follow.

531 In Plate 3, the shield and war medicines of Bull Lodge, father
797 of our informant, Garter Snake, represent only a few of the specimens of Gros Ventre culture collected in 1937 by Mr.
798 Richard Pohrt, of Flint, Michigan.
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PLATE I

LEFT TO RIGHT: LAME BULL, BIRD SITTING, BLACK BIRD AND CROW BULL

(Photo by Dan Dutro, Fort Benton, Montana, 1887)

[p. 212 (A)]

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

776 bătč, "he (who) has gristle (tendon from back of neck of animal) nose," and "black hawk," a certain very large black-feathered hawk known also locally as "bullet hawk" (*Buteo sp.?*). Another name for Bha'a was "old man four parts of the earth." Bha'a, the thunderbird, as was appropriate, had dark or black feathers, and was a swift flier; his bill and feet were of the same material as back tendon (see Blood-Clot Story, No. 11 in Appendix).

778 776 796 In the Gros Ventre Sacrifice Lodge, or "Sun dance," Bha'a was represented near the top of the center pole as a bird, painted black, with a buffalo tail fastened to his head as a sort of plume, with a zigzag line descending from the bird almost to the ground and ending in a fork, and with a bunch of branches stuck in the fork of the center pole of the lodge to represent Bha'a's nest. Each [302] of the dancers painted all over in white had a bird representing Bha'a, painted in black with charcoal or paint on his upper center breast, with black zigzag lines ending in a fork from the bird's wings down each arm and forearm and from the bird's feet down each thigh and leg to his ankle, with a black zigzag line forked at each end across the forehead, and with a vertical red zigzag line forked at the lower end extending down from each eye. The [534] drum-head used in the Feathered Pipe rite had a red background on which the Thunderbird was represented in blue, with a yellow zigzag line on either side from the head to the wings. Bha'a entered prominently into both the Sacrifice Lodge and the Feathered Pipe rite.

776 825 Any large strange animal might in the olden days be called Bha'a or even be looked upon as an embodiment or theophany of Bha'a.

One supposed theophany over which the present day Gros Ventres laugh heartily, is recorded on the occasion of their seeing their first mule. The story as told with verve and intense amusement by The Boy was as follows:

"The Gros Ventres used to move around a great deal. Once a mule, the first one the Gros Ventres had ever seen, got lost somehow, struck the Gros Ventres' trail, came to their camp and stopped. A Gros Ventre crier spied it and came back to camp

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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was reserved to the new keeper), and with tamping by the retiring keeper as it passed him, till it reached the last ex-keeper on the west side of the lodge. Then it was passed clockwise back toward the new keeper, each ex-keeper on the west side smoking it in turn, till it reached the retiring keeper. By this time the tobacco would probably be all smoked up, so he would dump it out by lifting up the Pipe, horizontal and bowl up, to head height, then lowering it still horizontal and bowl up, and finally turning the bowl over,—all this being done very slowly.

Another important part of the transfer rite was the blessing of the person and clothing of the new keeper and co-keeper, but when it occurred, before or after the Pipe smoking, was not cleared up. According to The Boy, "Every part of the new keeper was blessed, even his mouth, that is, his talk was blessed," but we obtained only the following details. The new keeper and co-keeper (and Pipe child) were painted by the retiring keeper on the forehead and under the jawbone and chin as signifying the world above and the earth respectively. The retiring keeper also chewed peppermint leaves and spat upon the two, to signify that they must "quiet down and be good."

The moccasins and feet of the new keeper, co-keeper and Pipe child were treated as follows. The retiring keeper took peppermint leaves in his mouth, chewed them, spat three times on the sole of one moccasin (moccasined foot) of the new keeper, lowered it down in three stages over the smudge of the sacred hearth, and circled it three times around the hearth. Then he took a pinch of poisonous wild parsley (see infra), spat three times on his palms, rubbed the palms together and rubbed the sole of the moccasin with his palm three times from toe to heel. The same treatment was given to the keeper's other moccasin by the retiring keeper, then to the new co-keeper's moccasins by the retiring co-keeper, and lastly to the new Pipe child's moccasins by the retiring keeper. At the end of the whole transfer these blessed moccasins were taken off and put in the Flat Pipe bundle, and were worn only during rites, not as everyday footwear. Every other piece of clothing of the new keeper, co-keeper and Pipe child was blessed with peppermint and fumigation, apparently with a similar rite

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793 although without the wild parsley, but we did not obtain details.

*796 After ritual treatment of their wearing apparel, the new keeper and co-keeper had to take off any ring, necklace or other personal adornment made of copper, iron or other metal, as the wearing [784] of metal adornments was forbidden them, apparently because such were from the whites. The two, but not the Pipe child, were each ritually invested with a necklace consisting of a large single shell on a string of twisted, not plaited, buckskin. The investure was done with three motions as if putting the necklace on, and at the third it was actually put on. Further the keeper, but not the co-keeper, had to frame his hair over his forehead with a large [302] pompadour, as a sign of distinction.[1]

The new co-keeper also put some dried peppermint leaves mixed [778] with poisonous, wild parsley in a little buckskin sack which she then wore on her belt. This had a double purpose. First, the mixture being poisonous, she commanded respect. She must not be molested or even be bodily touched. Whoever molested or even [837] touched her would suffer fits or spasms or a paralytic stroke. Second, she must live a virtuous life and not run around with other men. The co-keeper and keeper, as also the ex-co-keepers and ex-[784] keepers, since they had all been consecrated with peppermint and fumigation could handle the wild parsley without danger, but the common people were not immune to its supposedly highly toxic effects.

On this second day a big feast was given. Most of the food [262 was provided by the new keeper and his relatives. That eaten by the new keeper and co-keeper, who had been fasting from food 784] and water since the time they were first siezed a good thirty or more hours previously, was provided by the ex-keepers.

At sundown the day's instruction ended. That night the new keeper and co-keeper, the ex-keepers and ex-co-keepers and two attendants slept in the double lodge, where the Pipe also remained.

Very early the next morning (or less probably late on the

[1] In 1948 The Boy added: "When a man became keeper, he ceased to comb his hair and it would get in all kinds of shapes and hang down. So he would take a bunch from the center and wind it round and round and tied that knot of hair around with a string. Whenever the keeper took off that string the people would be afraid!" [R.F.]

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besides the Pipe itself. The most important of these is a turtle shell, next in rank a "duck" pelt, and third a muskrat skin.[9] These represent the animals sent down by Earthmaker at the time of the great flood to dive for earth. The turtle and "duck" are more important than the muskrat as they were the only two who brought back earth. There is no beaver skin in the bundle; either it was barred or discarded, or, as The Boy put it, "the beaver must have gotten mad and started his own pipe and pipe rite." (Cf. under "Other Pipes," pp. 166-168.)

The turtle shell is kept enclosed in its own special case. Neither The Boy nor his father Lame Bull had ever seen this shell, which is said not to have been taken from its case and exposed since the early nineteenth century.

The "duck" is apparently, from the detailed description given us of plumage and habits, a grebe. This bird has a special sacredness in Gross Ventre thought on account of its part not only in the primeval making of dry land but also in present-day bird migration.

According to tradition, when the birds, who in the fall have gone where there is no winter, want in the spring to come back they talk the matter over and plan the flight to the north. On the migration flight the grebes, who are poor flyers, are carried on the backs of the larger birds such as the ducks, geese and cranes. The big bird is careful not to drop the little bird; if he does, he will have bad luck. If the small bird is killed by the fall, the big bird does not live long. When in migration one of the big birds breaks rank and flies around alone, the Gros Ventres know that he has lost his passenger, and it is up to him alone to find the dropped bird. Sometimes you can see a big bird hovering round the spot where he has dropped his small passenger, looking for him in order to pick him up again, and catch up with the

[9] In 1948 The Boy explained: "The muskrat and the beaver tried to bring back earth but failed. Beaver was banished from any connection with the Pipe. The keeper would not let anyone who used the beaver-castor perfume come near him or his lodge. But muskrat was taken back without ceremonial significance for no other purpose than to wipe the keeper's face, as well as faces of others, before the keeper painted them. So muskrat is still in the bundle and shares indirectly in the great Pipe ceremonies." [R.F.]

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*796 and incense hearth, the latter to the east. The others sat in order of dignity and rank on the west and east sides of the lodge, the two attendants at either side of the door, the attendant whom we shall call "attendant number one" at the west side, number two at the east. These attendants were chosen for their intelligence and integrity and to be chosen for the task was looked upon as a great honor.

Before the rite started, those inside the lodge or at least the ex-keepers and ex-co-keepers would have painted themselves, without ritual, for the occasion. [302]

The rite in the keeper's lodge was made up of the following elements:

Peppermint laving
Smudging and smoking
  Making incense (with song)
  Smudging, praying with and smoking common pipe
    Recess
Untying and unwrapping Flat Pipe bundle
  (with 3 songs and origin narrative)
    Recess
Painting of
  People
  Sacred objects
  (with 3 songs and origin narrative)
    Recess
Rewrapping and re-tying bundle
  (with 3 songs and origin narrative)
    Recess
Terminal feast
  Praying with food offering
  Consuming of meal
  Reciting war-deeds.

Our chief informant on the rite was The Boy. Even in the old buffalo days before 1884 when the seasonal rites were regularly carried out, questions and debates used to arise at times regarding this or that minor point, such as sequence of some songs. It is quite understandable therefore that The Boy, although clear regarding the main ritual features, most details, and main sequence, was uncertain regarding some minor points, especially regarding

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triads to the later early fortunes of the people after they started to live and multiply. 796*

After the narratives were over, the third song (No. 38), the unwrapping song, was sung three times. This was properly the song for unwrapping the Flat Pipe case and so exposing the Flat Pipe to view. Inasmuch however as the Flat Pipe itself remained in its own proper case and was not exposed in the seasonal rites, but only at the Transfer Rite and the rite in fulfillment of a vow to smoke it, the keeper would explain: "This is the song we sing when we unwrap the Pipe itself," and the song would then be sung.

At the end of the third singing of this song, a good recess was taken.

After the recess all reassembled in the keeper's lodge for the painting and second triad of songs, sung to the accompaniment of the rattles. The painting of the sacred objects came at this point; more probably too the painting of the people's faces, although it is just possible that this took place earlier in the rite, between the smoking of the common pipe and the singing of the first song of the first triad.

The face painting began with the triple singing of its own wordless proper song (No. 38). The people filed in proceeding clockwise. Each person fumigated his or her hands, arms, mouth and head in the accustomed ritual manner (cf. Transfer Rite), the keeper from time to time dropping peppermint leaves on the sacred hearth to make incense with the customary three motions, at shoulder height, lower, then close to the hearth, but without singing the smudge song. The keeper prayed for them and they themselves prayed. The keeper, co-keeper, Pipe child, ex-keepers and ex-co-keepers had already painted themselves—the keeper and co-keeper with slate-colored paint—and were not included among those to be painted at this time. The keeper painted the men and boys; the co-keeper, the women and girls. If any of those to be painted already had "good-time" paint on their faces, this was wiped off with the muskrat skin.

The paint was first applied to the faces with a little piece of wood, 3 or 4 inches long, dipped in the sacred red paint. A streak or solid band was made across the forehead from temple to temple, 796* 302

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narrow at one temple, broader in front, and narrow at the other temple, to represent the sky and the region above; another under the jawbones and chin, from ear to ear likewise narrow near the ear, broader under the chin, and narrow at the other ear, to represent the earth or dry land. Then with a stamp, made of a stick having a cross of four equal-length arms carved in relief on its end, and dipped into the paint, crosses in red were imprinted on each cheek bone of the adults, on the bridge of the nose according to The Boy, or on the forehead according to Thick, and on both cheeks. This cross-shaped imprint represented the morning star (called simply "the cross" [not "the cross star"] in Gros Ventre), so The Boy and Thick conjectured on their own, but this they never heard from the old people. This painting meant much, it seems, to the people; as Coming Daylight expressed it: "It was a great thing to get painted at Flat Pipe ceremonies." As the people were painted they filed out clockwise. The rite ordinarily took a long time and only ended when the last of the people quit coming in. During it the strict silence was not observed by the ex-keepers and other privileged persons in the lodge; they chatted and smoked.

Two other songs (No. 40 and No. 41), both wor[illegible]e now sung by the keeper and the small groups in the l[illegible] the first of these two songs the keeper painted with re[illegible] sacred objects kept in the Pipe bundle: the Pipe cas[illegible] the bird skins, the rattles, and so forth. After the second, keeper painted the sacred objects connected with the Pipe bu[illegible] kept in the bundle: the tripod, pipe saddle and so forth. Meanwhile or at the end of the painting, the keeper told further details regarding the history and significance of the Flat Pipe and the sacred objects associated with it. After all this a long recess was taken with free smoking and chatting.

After the recess came the third triad of songs and the rewrapping and re-tying of the Pipe bundle. The order of the songs, as well as The Boy could remember was: The Last Child Song (No. 42), The Rope Song (No. 43), The Horse Song (No. 44), all three, wordless except for short sentences in the middle, of these were brought back by He-who-starved-to-death

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with the rites previously described. On a day's journey it may be noted, the bundle would have been placed on the tripod in the open three times: before starting out, about half-way, and on arrival at the new camp.

The killing of a pure white buffalo, a pure albino,—always a cow never a bull, according to Gros Ventre tradition,—was an extremely rare occurrence. The killer could keep it himself, give it to the Flat Pipe keeper, or offer it as a sacrifice. This sacrificial rite was last held when the Boy's father, Lame Bull was a young man, probably in the 1850's, and served as a calendrical date: "at the time the white buffalo skin was offered as a sacrifice." The Boy, our sole informant on this rite, could give only fragmentary data on it, gotten from his father who had witnessed only that one time in his life.

If the killer chose to offer the albino skin as a sacrifice, he had to vow, and then had formally to notify the keeper of the Flat Pipe. Carrying it he went clockwise round the camp circle on the inside and brought it to the keeper's lodge. The keeper painted the man's face with charcoal paint (not red), the ritual color for sacrifices, with a circular band around his face, on the forehead, the sides of the cheeks near the ears, and under the jawbones and chin, and with also a star on the bridge of his nose. The circle, Lame Bull told the Boy, represented the sundog; the star, the sun. A procession in which the keeper, co-keeper, Pipe child, ex-keepers, ex-co-keepers, the two attendants, and all the people took part started at the keeper's lodge and marched clockwise all around the camp circle, very slowly, with three stops (probably at the west, east and south) for prayer, till they reached the sweat-lodge near the keeper's lodge. The albino skin was given a touch of charcoal paint, as in other sacrifices, but The Boy did not know other details of the special rite used in preparing the skin, nor did he know who carried it in the procession. On arrival of the procession at the sweat lodge, the main body of the people went away, but the small group who were to sweat remained and went through the whole sweat-lodge rite at which the albino skin was hung up on the sweat-lodge pole and after which, in accord-

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According to Al Chandler, if some one were ill a near relative would vow to be painted and would go to the keeper. The sweat-lodge rite was first gone through. After this, in the keeper's lodge, the keeper would take the paint from the Pipe bundle, make a smudge as usual, sing the songs, dip his finger in the paint, and hold it up while addressing the Supreme Being and add: "This man vowed to you that he wanted to be painted with your paint so that his child might live," or similar words. Then he repeated the same thing to the Pipe. Then he painted first the vower, and afterwards he painted the men and male children present and the co-keeper, the women and female children,—the males with a curved band on the forehead near the hair line, the females with dots, one on the forehead and one on each cheek. This painting could take place any time in the year.

According to Garter Snake, in case of dangerous or critical illness, the vower would promise to cook up lots of food and have the keeper open up the Pipe bundle and paint the vower. If the vower were a man he was painted with the sacred red paint by the keeper; if a woman, by the co-keeper. The Pipe child would sit with the co-keeper during the rite. All the men, women and children who could attend would come to the keeper's lodge and be painted. Any ex-keepers and ex-co-keepers present would not be painted by the keeper and co-keeper as they would paint themselves.

According to Charles Buckman, it was customary to unwrap the Pipe bundle at this vowed painting rite.

Apart from this vowed rite, ritual face painting was also, as previously noted, a common feature of the Feathered Pipe dancing ceremony. In addition, according to Jim Shortman, if the Feathered Pipe keeper were told in a dream by the owl that sickness was coming to the camp, he would call all the children and infants together with the grown-ups to his lodge and would paint every individual.

Offerings to cover the Feathered Pipe could be made by anyone, at any time of the year, winter included, more frequently with, but often without, previous vow. They were commonly made for cure in cases of illness. The original first owner of the Pipe had told the people: "If you are sick, you can make a vow to cover the Pipe, and thus get well." But covering occurred also on other

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song had also to be sung, apparently to the accompaniment of the drum.

Putting sweet pine needles on the sick person's head, blowing wild parsley on him, and smudging him as doctoring practices have been previously described. According to Singer, if some one were so sick that his life was despaired of, the keeper would take the Feathered Pipe [the bundle, probably] and lay it on him and pray over him, and the sick person would recover, and, she added, "it cured a lot of them." Doctoring power was regularly acquired by reason of acquiring the keepership.

The keeper and co-keeper painted their own faces every morning after breakfast, like the men, in two bands, but broader ones three or four fingers wide, one on the forehead near the hair line and the other from one jaw across the chin to the other jaw.

The Pipe bundle was smudged by the keeper every morning and evening with sweet pine needles. During Curly Head's keepership Cora Chandler and her children were kept busy collecting dried cow dung for the daily smudging ceremony. The keeper made it a practice to "talk" or pray often to the Pipe in his lodge. According to The Boy, the keeper was fearful lest otherwise he might make ritual mistakes, at which the Pipe would be angry. According to Al Chandler, the Pipe being jealous, the keeper "had to talk to it to let it know it was not forgotten or put away; he treated it just like a person."

Customary observances on the occasions of feasts or ordinary meals to guests in the keeper's lodge have been previously described.

When the keeper and the people were camped for any length of time in a given place, the Feathered Pipe bundle was ordinarily taken in the morning from its place of honor opposite the entrance inside the keeper's lodge, hung up outside over the entrance, and brought back inside at eventide.

When the camp was to be moved, the Feathered Pipe keeper, like the Flat Pipe keeper, had, it seems, a consultative voice in the decision and perhaps even veto power at times, although ordinarily the final decision was made by the head men. The decision once made, early in the morning when camp was to be broken, the Feathered Pipe bundle was hung out on its tripod back of the

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The rite of self-torture, carried out on the day after the third (or second)[12] night of singing was the dramatic climax of the Sacrifice Dance. Either during the three-day singing and dancing or, more probably, on the morning of the day of torture occurred the painting and decorating of the dancers, those who had vowed to undergo self-torture.[13] By their respective grandfathers or others substituting as sort of "secondary grandfathers," each dancer was first painted over his entire body with white clay. On his upper chest, near the neck, was painted in black with charcoal or paint the figure of a bird (evidently representing Bha'a, the Thunder Bird), and a black zigzag line ending in a fork from each of the bird's wings across the chest and down either arm of the dancer to the forearm, and a similar black zigzag fork-ended line from each of the bird's feet down either leg and thigh to the ankle. Another black zigzag line, forked at both ends, was painted across the dancer's forehead, and under each eye, a vertical zigzag line, ending at the bottom in a fork, but painted in red, not in black. Sprigs of sage-brush were put on as wristlets and anklets, and around the head "so that they met over the eyes." "Common dancers" and other active participants such as the ceremonial grandfathers were painted all over with red paint instead of white clay, and were apparently decorated with over-painted designs similar to those of the self-torturers, the "dancers" proper.

The self-torture rite, on the last day of the Sacrifice Dance, began with the skin-piercing, the insertion of the skewers, and the attachment of the thongs and shield. The skin-piercing was done by the respective grandfathers to whom the respective vowers, their grandchildren, gave generous presents of horses, robes and

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[12] Our informants agreed that the Sacrifice Dance lasted through four nights, but whether the night of singing just before the "scouting" for the center pole counted as one of these four or not, and hence whether the skin piercing took place on the second or third day after the "scouting" was not made fully clear to us,—more probably the third day.

[13] In 1948 The Boy stated that the dancers were painted with white clay and their faces painted differently each morning. "On the first day each dancer has a red dot on each cheek, the second day two dots, the third day, three,—these are their tears and indicated that the dancers are crying." [R.F.]

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fathers back of them and the wives back of the grandfathers, according to one statement by Coming Daylight; the grandfathers in front, and the dancers and their wives back of them according to another by her. The bows of the "talls" and "shorts" were stuck upright in the ground in two crescents in front of the two respective divisions; the bows of the ritual "elder brothers" (the four councilors?), a little apart near the south or southeast ends of these two crescents.[18]

The chief ritual paraphernalia used in the Crazy Dance were the badger pelt, hoof rattles, whistles, bows, and poisoned arrows. The stuffed badger hide, "trimmed and fixed up," figured prominently in the rites. The bone whistles, hung on the neck of the dancers, were blown by them when dancing. The rattles, θaθanas, sticks about five feet long, with deer hoofs attached in a row along the upper third, were used by the grandfathers who sang, sitting in a row and pounding the ends of the rattles on the ground to beat time.

Each Crazy Dancer treated one of his arrows with poisonous wild parsley, and tied the poisoned arrow to his bow. If the dancer "got mad or any serious situation arose" he would unfasten the arrow and shoot to kill. If the arrow penetrated the skin of the victim or even scratched him, he died. This extreme measure was very rarely resorted to. We were told of no actual instance. When the dance was over these poisoned arrows were carried away to a spot where no one could find them and were buried.

The ceremonies on each of the four days of the Crazy Dance began with the painting of the bodies of the dancers and their wives, the pattern of the painting differing each day. The painting was done in the respective lodges of the leaders of the groups of two to four dancers. Here they gathered with their respective ceremonial grandfathers and "Little Crazy Dancers." The dancer and his wife, or borrowed surrogate, would sit there naked, the woman with legs close together and stretched out in front. This was a source of serious embarrassment to all concerned. The bodies

[18] Kroeber, 1908, p. 242, gives a different arrangement, with which still another statement by Coming Daylight that "the women sat on the west side" insofar agrees.

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of the two, even the soles of their feet, were painted all over,—in red, at least on the first day. Coming Daylight, although she herself had never joined the Crazy Dance, used to hear that the women would say: "Grandfather, I cannot paint my back. Now you paint my back." The grandfather, according to The Boy, commonly recruited a younger man than himself as helper in the painting and would direct him how to paint the various parts of the couple's bodies. At some time in this painting rite, the grandfather prayed in a short quick way with a pipe for those being painted.

After the couples were painted, all proceeded to the Crazy Dance lodge or corral, the dancers whistling on the way with their bone whistles in their mouths. On arrival at the lodge, the chief vower and the 4 councilors took their places inside the smaller wickiup, or enclosure within the corral, and the rite proper began.

A smudge was made,—according to The Boy, of a certain large flat or bulbous semispherical mushroom the "fuzz" of which "flies out when it is stepped on,"—a smudge song was sung (but The Boy did not remember the melody), and a solemn prayer was said.

After the prayer came the "feeding" of the badger. Someone would suggest: "Sing the feeding song, so the badger can eat." Then someone would take the badger skin and walk with it clockwise around the lodge, inside between the bows and the outer wall. He walked very very slowly, barely moving, and while he did so song No. 59 was sung. He made the complete circuit four times, and the song was sung once at each circuit. If at any time he were not holding pelt down low enough to the ground, he would be told in backward talk (see infra): "Raise him up!" When at the end of the fourth round he reached the wickiup, he would lay the pelt down. Then song No. 60 was sung, four times in succession, and at the end of each singing the pelt was given a hard blow with a stick by "the old man" (the chief vower's grandfather?). All this singing and striking was done seriously and reverently, without levity. The Boy had asked his father, Lame Bull, the meaning of the blows, but the latter had answered: "I do not know." The two above songs, both wordless, were sung without accompaniment of rattle or drum. The drum note in song No. 60 was introduced by The Boy in his recording merely to represent

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bearing, or child begetting. She had said to her husband on one occasion: "If I had joined it [the Crazy Dance] and had been given it [this root], I would use it." To this her husband replied: "You should not talk that way. You already have children. You should pray to the Supreme Being." In this connection it may be recalled that some once wanted Singer to join the Crazy Dance in order that her husband's other wife, pregnant at the time, would have a safe delivery. The root may also have been a medium through or by which long life was imparted to the woman.

The chief events of the fourth and last day of the Crazy Dance proper were, after the preliminary body painting, the fire dance and the bow rites.

According to The Boy and Thick, on this last day in their respective lodges the Crazy Dancers were painted up to represent owls,—why, we could not discover. Their bodies were painted yellow all over, to the elbows and knees; the forearms, and the legs from the knees down, solid black. On the chest was painted an owl, with wings spread, the wings represented by black strips extending along the arms. The dancers' left ears were daubed and plugged with white clay (and apparently a mushroom), so that hearing was blocked on that side. From the left side of the headband there hung an owl head (not a skull) over the left ear.

In preparation for the fire dance, the ritual grandfathers treated the soles of the dancers' feet, according to The Boy and Thick,—their whole bodies, according to Coming Daylight,—with medicine. The dancers also, Coming Daylight implied, chewed this root during the fire dance.

A prominent warrior "chief," from an age-group other than the one giving the dance, was then asked to make shavings out of a lodge-pole for the fire. He would tell four of his outstanding wardeeds, and at each would make a motion as if starting to cut the shavings. After the fourth deed was told, he actually began making the shavings, continuing until he judged he had a pile big enough for the fire. Then he would light them. The fire was made in the middle of the Crazy Dance corral or lodge.

After the fire was started, there were four songs and four dances. One of these four, or else a song sung to the accompaniment

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been told to do and put up the Drum Dance. Thus was the Drum Dance introduced among the Gros Ventres into their sacred dance system."

When Lame Bull told The Boy this story, the latter asked him: "Who was it who gave this dance and these horses?" And his father answered: "The killdeer." So the Drum Dance is owned by the killdeer (*Oxyechus vociferus*).

The Drum Dance ranked high in dignity among the Sacred dances. Lame Bull ranked it next after the Sacrifice Dance, and first in importance in the Drum-Dog-Kitfox-Crazy group, because, he told The Boy, the Drum Dance was "most difficult and complicated to carry out," and through it "more horses had come to the Gros Ventre tribe."

The Drum Dance was held only in fulfillment of a vow. The rite lasted the customary four days and nights, with a big feast each day. The Boy was uncertain whether a sweat-lodge ceremony was held during the Drum Dance.

The chief sacred objects used in the Drum Dance were, so far as we could learn, the very large drum, and the fur-wrapped crooked sticks which were carried by the dancers and which to judge from the origin story were four in number and were decorated as therein described. The dancers themselves were painted yellow all over their bodies, with black dots, representing hail, from the waist up.

Four of the Drum Dance songs, numbers 52-55, were recorded, as sung by The Boy, who had learned them from his father, Lame Bull. There were others which The Boy did not remember, nor did he know the ritual order in which they were sung.

Two of these four songs, numbers 52 and 53, are wordless, and were sung at good-time dances during the Drum Dance. Number 53 is the song that was sung by the men marching out of the dry lake-bed when the Drum Dance was first given to the starving Gros Ventre man by the killdeer. These dancing songs were lively ones, sung to fast time.

Song number 54 is difficult to translate as the meaning of two of one of the words was unknown. The Boy ventured the conjecture that the whole wording might possibly mean: "There are

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These were fastened to the center pole "at the top," so that it was "full of goods that they offered." The offerings were made by "those who made the dance." Such an offering was made, for instance, by the woman above-mentioned who joined the dance for the recovery of her wounded brother. As at the Sacrifice Dance, too, when the Women's Dance was over and camp was moved, the lodge, center pole and attached offerings were all left just standing there.

The dancers, the two attendants and the "calf" or "calves," were painted, by the "boss" (and perhaps by others),—the dancers at least, "all over the face, then on top of the hair and down the hair hanging to the shoulders." During the painting the one painting would pray for the other being painted, and the latter might pray on her own account for whatever she desired, such as long life, medicine power, or other favors.

Of the songs sung during the Women's Dance we recorded only one, number 66, a wordless one, sung by The Boy. The singing was done or at least led by the old man (or two old men) who sat at the back of the lodge, and was apparently (the point was not cleared up by us) joined in by the chief vower and "boss," and also by the "cows." The singing was done to the accompaniment of the deer-claw rattles mentioned previously, and without the drum. Those dancing did not sing while dancing. "The singing in the Women's Dance," The Boy remarked, "sounded 'old,' quite different from the way a young woman sings." To Coming Daylight's ear "it sounded fine."

The dancing went on, not continuously, but intermittently, with intervals in between. Dancing was done by the "cows," attendants, and "calves," not by the "bull" who just sat in her place near the door with her horned headdress on and her head bowed down. The participants danced toward the back of the lodge, "kind of bouncing up and down in one place and shaking their heads from side to side." Coming Daylight, as a "calf," danced with the rest, near the door. According to Singer, the dances were done in series of four, as told her by one or two of her grandmothers who had been through the Women's Dance, and, if any of the "cows" did not get up to dance, the "bull" would "get busy" and "start

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while shells like those I wore for earrings would show. But the place was grown over with weeds and white settlers were there. The old women said: 'It is funny that they [the whites] do not hear the spirit getting [ready] a pot of boiling water for them.' They thought it strange that the white people could stay there."

Those few men who sought gambling power—it was never sought or possessed by women, we were told—sought it not on hill tops but in the lowlands, in the brush and timber along streams, from prairie chickens or ghosts there. The quester chose by preference a place where wild morning-glories formed a sort of bower or "tipi." The seeker would cry and when he got sleepy would crawl into the bower and sleep. In his sleep a prairie chicken or ghost would give him a song, certain rules to live by, procedures and rites to use in the hand game,—the only game in which gambling power was used,—and perhaps some powers of the legerdemain order. The person who acquired gambling power by quest would be very chary of revealing his quest experiences.[10]

Seemingly still more secretive and tight lipped were persons who acquired love power through quest. According to The Boy, our only informant on this point, "these fellows [who had it] were careful never to tell who gave this power. Sometimes they would say a 'person' gave it, but it was generally known that it came from bird or animal on the ground or in the water." On other occasions he stated: "Usually some animal gave love power," and questers "did not ask for success in gambling or love on the mountains, but on the prairies or in the brush along rivers." The being would give the quester a root to use in exercising love power.

A person before starting out for a chosen mountain top to seek major powers would, The Boy put it, "take a good bath and clean up his body well and put perfume on his body so he would smell good—those who did not use perfume would be told by the being on the mountain: 'Go away. You smell bad.'" He would also unbraid his hair and would wear no clothing except his moccasins and under his blanket his breechcloth. He took no weapons with him. "He took a lot of chances," Al Chandler commented, "because enemies might be close-by. But no enemy ever seemed to

[10] For fuller details, see Flannery and Cooper, 1946, pp. 405-09, 416.

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to do that I guess it will be all right.' He did it and it went down easily. Then he was told: 'You go to sleep. I will tell you what this is for.' 787

"So he stayed out there and fell asleep. He saw an old fellow, grey-haired, coming who could hardly walk he was so old. This old man told him: 'That which I gave you is going to be all in your line. You are going to be a medicine man. This medicine is for those women or girls who should not have children for some reason; they are afraid or don't like to go through that and they always want help from somebody if anybody can do anything for them to keep them from having children. You will have to use your own judgment on that. If you think that a woman shouldn't want to do anything like that, if she is strong and young and should have children, you should not help her. You just tell her that you haven't got anything. But there are some who really need that kind of help. They are weak and won't make good mothers. Those are the ones you should help. That is what I give it to you for. I give you just one [hailstone] but every time you use it there is always another one. All you have to do is to sing the proper song (this person taught him the song, but I do not know it) and just take that hailstone from your body, that same one you swallowed, and give it to this woman to swallow and she won't have any children after that.'

"Little Man used this medicine twice and he said he didn't know where it came from but each time he used it [the hailstone] there was another one there for use the next time. My mother's sister's first child pretty near killed her and she was one he worked on. Another woman came to him who was in the same situation and he gave it to her and she never had more children. Lots of times women came to him, but he knew it was not because they were too weak to have children, but were just women who liked to run around and he didn't want to help that kind. This person who gave him that power had told him: 'When you are giving that thing to the women whom you help, paint yourself red from half your eyes up your forehead and head; below that paint all yellow.' If he would not have painted, the power would not have worked. If he omitted anything it would have been no good,—like if he didn't sing the song, it would be no good. [302]